2 Seligman & Seligman E-4 (1909-1910) 1932
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It should have been mentioned in the Foreword that, for the reasons stated on page [illegible], relationship terms are generally given in the possessive (first person singular).

[p. x]

S.Seligmann & C.G.Seligmann E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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G65 in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 91-6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Ceremonies are known as *ando*, though swiftly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the conquerors of Nyakang, while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Dinka, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

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Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

● G01 We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Shilluk, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the system of all those tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be mentioned separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or classmen of the father's generation, but certain ceremonies are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of such descriptive concepts in the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden to marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

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between brother and sister and of each of these to the children of the other.

The following are the kinship terms in use among the Shilluk :—

Wa, ate	Father, father's brother, father's father's father's son's son (paternal great grandfather's grandson). It is doubtful whether the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband should correctly be called ate. When a man knew such relatives personally he would probably call them ate by courtesy, while if he did not they would be to him the husbands of his wife and ate and he would accordingly use descriptive terms. From politeness a man may also call his father-in-law (ate) ate.
Mako	Mother, sometimes also used for husband's mother.
Wa (pl. wak)	Son.
Nyare	Children.
Gwa	Brother (son of father), "father's" brother's son.
Nyako	Sister (daughter of father), "father's" brother's daughter.
Gwa	Brother (son of mother), wife's brother or a polite form of address.
Nyako	Sister (daughter of mother), wife's sister.
Mi	Mother's sister.
Gwa	Son of me.
Nyako	Daughter of me.
Ma	Mother's brother, mother's paternal grandfather's grandson.
Gwa	Son of me.
Nyako	Daughter of me.
Wa'ar	Father's sister, husband's sister.
Gwaja	Father's sister's son.
Nyaja	Father's sister's daughter.
Mi	Father's brother's wife.
Gwa	Sister's son.
Nyako	Sister's daughter.
Nan	Father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, husband's father.
Wa'ago	Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.
Nyare	Son's children, daughter's children.
Gwa	(m.s.) Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any sons. (w.s.) Husband's sons and husband's sons.
Nan	The sons of the husband; sometimes used by men for wife of brother, but stands in more correct.
Nyako*	Co-wife, husband's brother's wife.

* The two terms are to contrast with each "sister's daughter". In the Shilluk the result was a difference that they could not understand why we confused them. We have [illegible] to anything but the difference commonly difficult for the [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] to us in the social [illegible], or there are three different [illegible] to father.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *bo* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Bo* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *rok*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *bo wa* or *ci wa* are used for the wife of the *wa* (not the mother), *bo ur*, *ci nu* for the wife of the *nu*, *simada* (from *mac*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyaka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *wa* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *wa jahywoja*, lit. " relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter ".

Wa—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls " father's son ". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wa* " father ", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, " grandfather ", while all those of the same generation are *nwa*, " father's son ". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be " *nwa* "; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wiak* (*nwa*); the brother's sons are *nwada*, " sons of the man." The sister's sons (*n.a.*) are *nhe*, the sister's daughters *nyaka*; they belong to the clan of their father.

Maja—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *nwa* are *na*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify kin or ancestor. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head averted. All the children of the mother's *nwa* are *nwa* and *nyiaa*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded as more nearly as children of the mother's brother.

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maja*. The children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *wwa*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it at Fashoda in circumstances where the meaning was quite definite.

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Westermann gives *naye-nai* and *na-nai* for aunt,[1] without specifying what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *naye-nai* corresponds to the word spelt *nain* here.

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognizes clan relationship as well as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *owe*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *ama*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *owe* are his *nu*; from the point of facilities, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *nu*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *owe*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any "cousin"—*nyiwa*, *nyimia*, *nyiwa*, or *nyuaja*. As will be seen later, the most important of these are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *nyuaja*. A man calls *nu* the "parents-in-law" of all his *owe*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *owe*. When *owe* means "mother-in-law" it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls "father", as well as any woman who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *owe* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *owe*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *owe* category possibly belong to one clan but are the "mothers", "fathers", and "brothers-in-law" of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother.

When a woman speaks, the term *owe* has a much less wide significance. Her *owe* are only those "brothers" of her husband who are the sons of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *owe* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Yaro.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *owe* of her husband. Generally speaking it is

[1] Op. cit., 190.

[2] The wife's brother's wife may usually be regarded as one of the wife's people and as one who it seems to permit that people some other African peoples the wife's brother's wife is presumably a "mother-in-law", because a man has a right to his daughter as a secondary wife.

• 601 only used by women to men, but it may also be used reciprocally. It is a peculiar term; at first sight it might be looked upon as derived from the same root as *ewa*, but the meaning is entirely different, so this is improbable. *Ora* respect one another, and a breach of etiquette between them is a serious matter, but between *yuru* there is no restraint and a woman may be the paramour of her *yuru*, 'her husband's *ewa*. Also *ewa* may inherit each other's wives, so that *yuru* may become legitimate spouses. The bearing of these facts on mother-in-law avoidance will be referred to later.

It may be said that the terms used by a man depend on his physiological connection with his mother and her legal bond to her husband, and hence to his father and his father's clan. The terms applied to all these people follow a logical system based on the fact that relationship to the mother is a biological one, while that to the father is sociological. The father is head of the household and is normally the physiological father, but if he should not be so it would make no difference, the mutual relationship would be the same and it would not affect inheritance. Further, a man belongs to his father's clan and all his father's clansmen are his own clansmen, thus among the cousins there is a great difference according to whether they are clansmen or not. Later, by marriage, a man sets up new relationships to his wife's relatives. All of these, except his wife's sister and the *yuru*, are his *ewa*, people to whom he must show respect, avoiding any behaviour that might lead to quarrels; he will never become familiar with any of them. His intimate friends will be chosen from among his clansmen. The relationship to the *yuru* is dependent on that between *ewa* (clan-brothers), who stand in such close relationship that they have access to each others' wives.

An unmarried woman uses kinship terms in the same way as a man, but certain terms are used in an anomalous manner by a married woman. She calls her husband's sister *wuju*, and her husband's father and mother *kwa* and *wuqa* respectively. Two points are apparent in the anomalous use of these words. Thereby all persons are addressed by a term which ordinarily is applied to someone of an older generation; further, instead of being addressed as relatives by marriage they are addressed as own relatives. Thus towards these persons a woman uses terms that might have been used by her husband, but in each case these relatives are considered to belong to one generation higher than they really do. Opportunity did not arise to discuss this point with the Shilluk women; a simple explanation might

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *wmio* and *nyimio* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimio*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his own. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relatives—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *wa*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of residence and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,[1] but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary ore relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is ore in the second degree. B, C and D may have an ore relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A debauch a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an ore relationship between the two lineages as there is through A and B. *Dwolo* sickness would result from this offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,[2] among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual: the recognition and worship of *Juok*, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are lesser important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

Juok

The concept of *Juok* is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups although beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk *Juok* refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. *Juok* is above Nyikang and can though he is approached principally through Nyikang. The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move *Juok* to send rain, to prevent sickness, remove sickness and so forth. *Juok* is thus linked to Nyikang who he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intermediary. *Juok* is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognized a creator though he is believed to show little concern in men being a his greatness which is so far above them.

Seligman[3] records that the Shilluk use adjectives to the word *Juok* in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

[1] Seligman, C.G.S. (Op. Cit. 1932) p.56. [2] Ibid., pp.2-4.
[3] Seligman, Brit. Africa (1930), pp.164-7 and p.165.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies. 643

Dak married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *okwale* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth* Nyakwar' who married his half-sister, Nyago. *Kwayiroth* Bul Acien of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Division) is reputed to be descended from this union. 173

APPENDIX III.

Terms of Relationship.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:— 601

(i) Relationships with kinsmen.
(ii) Other relationships.
(iii) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(i) Relationship with Kinsmen.

(N.B.—*In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "Wi Dong" means Dong's father, while "Nyimia" means "my sister."*)

(a) *Relations of the same generation:*

Uni	Unia	Every male kinsman (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (i.e., classificatory brother).
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Same as Uni, but female, (i.e., classificatory sister).
Uni	Unia	Uterine brother.
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Uterine sister.

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a. This is least highly esteem.

(60) (b) *Relations in father's generation*:

Wi	*Wia*	Father, and father's *wui*.
Waja	*Waja*	Father's *nyiwi*.
Mai	*Maia*	Mother.

(c) *Relations in grandfather's generation*.

Kwai	*Kwaia*	Grandfather and any male relative (patrilinial or matrilinial) in the grandfather's generation.
Wang	*Wanga*	Grandmother and any female relative (patrilinial or matrilinial) in the grandmother's generation.

(d) *Relations in son's generation*.

Wad	*Wada*	Son.
Nyar	*Nyara*	Daughter.
Umalka	*Umalka*	Son's *wui*.
Nyimalka	*Nyimalka*	Son's *nyiwi*.

(e) *Relations in grandson's generation*:

Kwar	*Kwara*	This word is used for any descendant (of either sex) of grandson's (or any more remote) generation. It is also used for plural of each.

(f) OTHER RELATIONSHIPS.

(a) *Relations in the same generation*:

Umi	*Uma*	Mother's brother's son or *wui* of each.
Nyimi	*Nyima*	Same as *wui*, but feminine.
Uma	*Uma*	Son of mother's sister or *wui* of each.
Nyima	*Nyima*	Same as *uma* but feminine.

(b) *Relations in the mother's generation*:

Mai	*Ma*	Mother's brother or *wui* of each.
Ma	*Ma*	Mother's sister, or *nyiwi* of each.

(c) *In higher generations*:

It has been noted above that all blood relatives of grandfather's generation are called *kwai* or *wanga* in accordance with whether they are male or female.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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(d) *In one's generation:*

Okai	*Oke*	Sister's son (son of *nyinai* would also be classed *okai*).
Nyikai	*Nyike*	Same as *okai*, but feminine.

(e) *In later generations:*

Kwar	*Kwara*	The meaning of this term has been given in (c) (e) above.

(j) CONNEXIONS CONSEQUENT UPON THE MARRIAGE TIE.

(a) *Terms used by men:*

One. A generic term used:—

(i) By a husband to describe his wife's immediate family.

(ii) By a husband to describe the *one* (in sense (i)) of any of his kinsmen.

(iii) By a man to describe all blood relations of his wife.

(iv) By a man to describe the husband of his sister or of any related to such husband by blood.

(N.B.—It will be seen the *one* is a very wide term. Strictly men class every member of a clan to which any of their clan is married or has ever within memory been married as being *one*. Nevertheless a man will only call another *one* or *jal one* when the person addressed is a member of his wife's immediate family.)

(b) *Terms used by women:*

Yare	*Yare*	*Yare* of husband.
Waja	*Waja*	*Nyinai* of husband.
Kwai	*Kwaia*	Husband's father or husband's father's *wai*.
Wang	*Wango*	Husband's mother, or any female relative of husband belonging to husband's mother's generation.
One	*One*	Husband's similar brother.